

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

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SUBJECT: MOTLANA ON ATMOSPHERE IN SOWETO

REF: JOHANNESBURG 2219

1. DESPITE BANNING ORDER, DR. NTHATO MOTLANA, SOWETO'S
COMMITTEE OF TEN CHAIRMAN AND STILL PROBABLY SOWETO'S
MOST RESPECTED SPOKESMAN, CAME INTO OFFICE SEPTEMBER 27
TO DESCRIBE TO CG PRESENT THINKING OF SOWETO'S MOST
POLITICALLY ORIENTED LEADERS.

A. NEW JERUSALEM. SOWETO'S LEADERS, LIKE BISHOP TUTU
OF SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, TALK NOW ABOUT
ULTIMATE SOLUTIONS OF COUNTRY'S RACIAL PROBLEMS, EITHER
IN RELIGIOUS TERMS ("WE WILL ALL BE SPIRITUALLY FREE
ONE DAY, INEVITABLY") OR POLITICAL TERMS ("WE DEMAND
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A UNITARY STATE, ONE MAN ONE VOTE, AND ECONOMIC
DEMOCRACY OR SOCIALISM"). MOTLANA SAID BLACK LEADERS
HAD COME TO SUCH CONCLUSIONS BECAUSE TO ADVOCATE
INTERMEDIATE STEPS WAS TOO FUTILE, TOO DIFFICULT, AND
TOO DANGEROUS. POLICE SURVEILLANCE AND INTIMIDATION
WERE GREATER THAN EVER.

B. SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. SAG'S COMMUNITY COUNCILS IN SOWETO AND ADJOINING TOWNSHIPS WERE FARCIAL AND IRRELEVANT. VOTE IN DIEPKLOOF ON SEPTEMBER 23 WAS PERHAPS 2 OR 3 PERCENT, WITH FEW BUT MAGOTLA SUPPORTERS GOING TO POLLS. BLACKS HAD NO FAITH THERE WOULD BE MEANINGFUL TRANSFER OF POWERS TO COMMUNITY COUNCILS. SIMILARLY WITH HOMELANDS, THEIR GOVERNMENTS WERE DIS-CREDITED AS PUPPETS. DETENTION OF VENDA OPPOSITION LEGISLATORS, FOR EXAMPLE, PLAYED INTO HADS OF BLACK ACTIVISTS BY REVEALING TRUE AIM OF SAG TO BE SUPPRES-SION OF FREE BLACK POLITICAL EXPRESSION AND PERPETUATION OF BAASKAP (WHITE SUPREMACY).

C. STUDENT ATTITUDES. OVER TEN THOUSAND STUDENTS OF HIGH SCHOOL AGE IN SOWETO WERE STILL BOYCOTTING STUDIES IN PROTEST OVER CONTINUANCE OF BANTU EDUCATION, WITH RELATIVELY FEW ABSENT FROM SOWETO AND ENROLLED IN HOMELAND SCHOOLS. STUDENTS WERE ROAMING STREETS, ITCHING FOR TROUBLE. SOME WERE INTERESTED IN SCHOOL REFORM, BUT MORE WERE THINKING ABOUT DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST WHOLE APARTHEID REGIME.

D. SOWETO LEADERS. WHILE SAG HAD SUCCEEDED IN HAM-STRINGING VIRTUALLY ALL POPULAR BLACK POLITICAL ORGANI-ZATIONS, LEADERS REMAINED IN PUBLIC EYE AND WERE ABLE ON OCCASION TO EXPRESS BLACKS' WIDELY HELD DEMANDS AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GRIEVANCES. THESE LEADERS INCLUDED FANYANA MAZIBUKO, MATHABATHE, MANTHATA, RACHIDI, QOBOZA, TUTU, AND OF COURSE MOTLANA. QOBOZA RECEIVED FREQUENT WARNINGS FROM JUSTICE MINISTER KRUGER THAT HE WAS PUSHING HIS LUCK AS HIS NEWSPAPER (POST) BECAME BOLDER, BUT QOBOZA REMAINED CONFIDENT THAT HIS PRESTIGE ABROAD WOULD PROTECT HIM.

E. CHIEF BUTHELEZI. MOTLANA DESCRIBED KWAZULU CHIEF MINISTER GATSHA BUTHELEZI AS A "SAD CASE", SOMEONE WHO WAS ONCE A MEMBER OF THE ANC (AS WAS MOTLANA) BUT WHO WAS NOW A "NAT" (NATIONALIST PARTY). ONE SHOULD NOT BELIEVE THE PRESS THAT HE WAS PURSUING AN INDEPENDENT LINE; HE WAS TOO CLOSE TO VORSTER AND MULDER. GATSHA WAS IN "SERIOUS TROUBLE" AND UNLESS HE RESIGNED FROM THE KWAZULU HOMELAND GOVERNMENT, HE WAS "FINISHED".

F. MOTLANA. HE SAID HIS BANNING ORDER PROSCRIBED ATTENDANCE AT "GATHERINGS", WHICH WERE MEETINGS OF ANY SIZE PLANNED IN ADVANCE. HE HAD COME INTO THE OFFICE ON A PRETEXT THAT HE WAS CALLING ON A PATIENT. HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE MAY HAVE LOST SOME CREDIBILITY WITH BLACKS FOR

HIS TALKS WITH WHITES, LIKE THAT WITH RAU PRINCIPAL
GERRIT VILJOEN, BUT HE FELT IT WAS USEFUL TO TALK AND
SPELL OUT BLACK ATTITUDES. HE HAD LITTLE HOPE OF
POSITIVE RESULTS.

G. VORSTER. MOTLANA SAID HIS DIAGNOSIS OF EX-PRIME
MINISTER VORSTER'S MAIN PHYSICAL PROBLEM WAS ALCHOLHOLISM.
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